

Jan 30, 1984

George Will is "stoked" at the comparison between the US or Landista failure to hold election for 5 years and the Amerian failure to elect a President "from 1776 to 1789" :

"Are you comparing the Landista regime to Amerian under the Articles of Confederation?"

The difference reflects largely the difference between the Somaya regime (under various US Presidents) and the colonial regime under George III: the latter "started" (in 1776) with traditions and institutions of democracy that have never been permitted in Central Ameria — a tradition to protect, not to create — and without experiencing discrediting "elections" and "free press" and (C) without any imperial over, let alone a vastly powerful, totally hostile one.

365 / 1,000.000
3000

Nicaragua 13 Nov 84

"Dangerous, threatening" buildup of forces in Nic is described by US officials in Wash Post as defensive against contras (not, as Shultz said, to intimidate neighbors):

Is timing of US presence/invader shaped by need to keep contras from being destroyed by other liberators, etc.?

(Bay of Pigs being driven by fears of arrival of MIGs?)

Cuban II - SAMs/IRBMs..

Shultz cites "Monroe Doctrine" against European "invasion" — i.e. burdens from Europe of us to resist US invasion! US or Western sources big, of course, denied
(see Guatemala)

[Open Door to US invasion or air attacks or "count" attacks]

("Black (Terror) Network" — of ^{CR} ~~g~~overnment and gov-supporting ^{or} ~~g~~overnment
"friends" terrorists which are import + coord. + encourage, as SV/Libya is said to do for "red" & terrorists.

— on NYT

Monroe Doctrine: Nic "aid" + "dissident" (P) of El Salvador rebels constitutes "armed attack", against which an US invasion is justified, i.e. "self. defense"

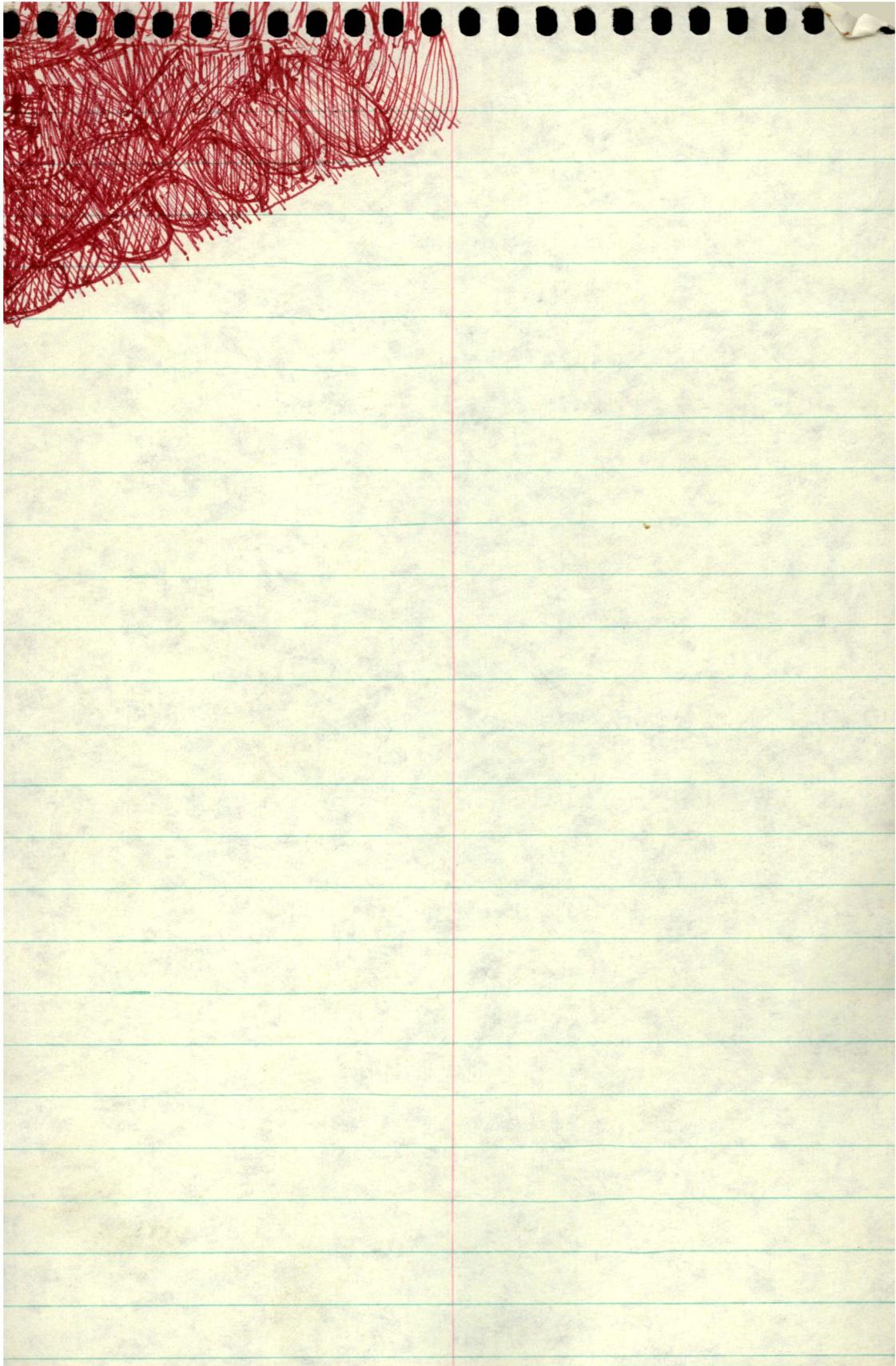
What, then, is US doing to Nic?

What would Nic be justified in doing, to repel or retal?

* Met the Press: The new weapons "have the effect of intimidating the neighbors [allies of US!] and removing a lot of the leverage the neighbors might otherwise possess, for getting a third agent that would prevent the security of both countries."

— Use of "verification" and and use for "reductions" in arms, and on-site inspections, to avoid "exception" of Contadora Treaty.

— MIGs AND SAMs COULD BE USED AGAINST CONTRAS.



84
Ken Rogers, 11 Dec Managua

(going west to Motozulpa; see Thurs? to Fri)

He still thinks a 50% chance of invasion by end of year — though experts 2 weeks warning, and no signs yet.

(but. Christmas + New Year's ?!)

He finds military (+ tele) "very right-wing"; they see Coms everywhere, and want a war. Ques (Why is Congress silent about illegality of bombing Nic, including MiGs?)

"Because they're afraid it would be unpopular to call it illegal + wrong." Ken Rogers believes public wants to "get rid of Coms in Central America" — they're even willing to send troops. And others in Midwest ... think C is naive. Effect of VN, at this distance, is that they're smacking own defeat, thus it won't done right — if went it down with. No draft necessary — or likely.

"R did learn that."

Public would accept this fait accompli,
as usual — not even beforehand, as this
they're mentioning.

Onf with Barnes (head of CA Com)
and Ted Weiss spoke out on allegacy of
bombing.

He doesn't think Sardintas will give up,
under econ pressure. If say, "We can bring
a little..." "It may be brands... but they
didn't bring in the bulls for you to give up
easily now..."

(Why didn't Dulles speak out? "both Africa friendly
[should black Congressmen add this to
the South Africa concern?])

11 Dec 84

[Is this to be "punished" for the
Iran. hostages, Afghan, and loss of VN,
as Sovietia was punished after 1949
for the "loss of China" (i.e. the USSR
protected itself by "shoring the line")

and again, in 1961 (advisors — they're not
troops) for the Bay of Pigs (v Berlin Wall):
"shoring a line."

Now, "roll-back"

(Reb slogan after Korea!)

Also, a vote of the economic nations of
65 cities in voting again (twice) for
Reagan,

What if my neurotic "vote the
pocket-books" — like America in 1984 — is
tolerating actions of contra + US?

Danica Cooley

Visited Grenada with Bill O'Donnell

Sister Mary Hartman

12 Dec 84

Went to Puerto Cabezas on Atlantic coast, 1962
(pick-up for Bay of Pigs):

traditional Catholic attitude: the poor you have
always with you — reward in heaven...

McCollum — "Sacrament yourself in the life
of the poor" — live in the barrios

Students/priests who did this, "to see how other lived"
began to see causes of poverty as a system of
oppression...

"People began to write — not so much on Atlantic
Coast, where the Miskitos + blacks live..."

EARTHQUAKE of '72 — 15,000 killed in seconds.
600 planes came with aid — which National
Guard sold to people...

Blair Bonpane

11 Dec

Whenever religion allies with empire, sexual denunciation/control of sex is used, to convince people they are guilty, sinful, unable to control their own impulses without authority, submission.

Teacher pol. passing: "Reform yourself before you try to reform society."

Hartman

When Bill Stewart was gunned down while
photographing war (armed on his knees)...
of National Guardsmen — photographed, on US TV,
led to protests to WH...

Luis Carrion, 28 — "I said, "You look too young to have
you through the war," "Inside, we're all old men.

— "The worst is yet to come — they're going
to try to destroy us — blockade, sabotage...

✓ ~~Some~~ the document — Roger Fontaine [?:]

"Plan of Reagan administration

"War, not peace, is the norm for international
relationships."

"The theology of liberation... is contrary to US
interests."

Nelson Rockefeller, 1969, went to CA

The slogan to US interests in CA is the Church.

(It gives people a sense of dignity, of right; a sense
that there is enough for all; that there is no need

Honduras: — like aircraft carrier.

Largest hospital in CA is a military base.

- over 60 clinics destroyed, built since '79.
- 7500 killed, mostly ^{over} civs $\approx 600,000$ in US. (?)
- as if Russian ships were in US waters, Russian planes overhead, Russian mercenaries...
- 63 US ^{over} flights in November, + 5 "sonic booms".

"I don't know why Congress hasn't protested...

"If the Adl. violated int. law as US has..."

✓ [see dangerous child report...]

[see Ray Bonner's book, *Wealth + Despot*]

"I see the US heading for a fascist state..."

Imperial: people still "liberal," with public consent...

I asked in 1972: "Is the public, too, part of the problem?"

But do they accept terrorism? Elmer Bonner asked

$$\begin{array}{r} 7500 \\ 50 \\ \hline 375,000 \end{array}$$

BP asked Martin Kalt in Duran, "Why don't you use the word 'terrorism' for what US is doing in CA?"

Kalt: "We have to learn to play the game."

National Commission for Promotion + Protection
of Human Rights

tel no. 60080

Sister *I took part in*

May Hartman: "Good Friday procession — supposedly
"10,000 — anti-gov procession."

5000 in traditional procession — no work —
not anti-gov.

"Freedom fighters" — made mother drink
the blood of her dead son ... "I can still
taste it" she testified...
cut off breasts...

MH — "Rehabilitation program is the best in CA
of prisons..."

I may seeing prison — teach making
buffalo horns; candles, ... farming

"There are violations of human rights in Nic.

Nic. is good, one of the best in CA — but not
perfect. Violations come from lower levels, not
gov policy; violators are punished (300 ^{most guilty, serious} violators
✓ are being punished). — ~ 70 for intent.

of NH office — : -- S- merger on contra
collaborators

Misfits - 300 jailed for CR activity ("Real
Christians" ~~plan to invasion~~ - Stephan Fogath Dec. '81
judge in Puerto Cabello gave

20-30 year sentences... Our lawyers investigated
sentences reduced 50-80%;

"judge was jailed" (? ... "expatriated"?)

"Our job is to monitor human rights in all
the ministries.

Raul Cordon

5 lawyers (20 staff altogether: chauffeurs, res., etc.)

(L '79, 7500 National Guards imprisoned;
still 2200 serving time. Cases being
reexamined.

Permanente Commission on Human Rights (1977-)

Head critical scenario - but unless he saw
Lands. would win, he went to Venezuela to ask for
("es") intervention. He saw Pope.... He reported 700
killed by Lands, led to investigation on (Amnesty Int'l.,
Pap. Univ.,

(by men killed in war, or in Miami, etc.)

Fayolle in Dec. '81.

Get: Testimony to House Permanent Select
Comm. on Intelligence on CIA Manual

of Michael Ratner, ... Dec. 4, 84
Suey Robinson
Center for Cont. Rights, 853 Broadway
14 flr. NY 10003 *

— State

"Committee of State Fei" "A New Inter-
American Policy for the Eighties."

Committee for Inter-American Unity
305 Fourth St. NE.

Wash DC 20002

✓ D. Francis Bourdier

Roger W. Fontaine

David C. Jordan

Gordon Lerner

(Please keep copy) ^

* also: Judgment of War Crimes Tribunal
on CIA and Contras

and Nat. Lawyers' Guild - CIA Tort Team

"CIA and Contras Regs"

12 Dec 84

At minimum security prison camp, farm,
talking to in charge of discipline
(one week vacation per year);

Ring (?) of Sonoya's personal bodyguard ;
bodyguard of Howard Hughes ("In the earthquake,
the American bodyguards ran off; he and mother
Mrs. got H-H down from the 7th floor into a
car; he was 'normal' (not long hair or nails), thin,
in a bathrobe; looked dazed & scared, like everyone,"
21 years in Brazil; sgt. in security; helped
guard US ambassadors, Pizzullo last, Trained
in Panama; in US to study security procedures,
in West, NY, SF, in 1977.

Did people join the Grand voluntarily, or drafted?
"Not really voluntary; the nature of the society
gave the WPA forced them in. As a present,
it would cost a few pesos, - not enough for
this family - work 3-4 months a year ... The Grand
was a good job - paid more, good clothes, good
roots, easier work ...

How did

- Did you understand w/ the French lost?

- A: They were poorly trained.

Q: Wasn't the US training good?

A: Only the elites had that — most had very little.

Q: But the guerrillas didn't have any.

A: But they had conviction!

Q: What's your response w/ the French lost?

A: No, I knew they would be defeated.

Q: At the end, but earlier?

A: I always knew they would be defeated whenever anyone with arms opposed them ("The French had all the weapons"); as soon as the people rose up with weapons.

Earlier: * No specific accusations were made against him; they looked at his record, saw when he was at different times, his jobs (observes:) — convicted of crimes against the right, was evasive (not specific).

Agrees that some Guardian should be kept in; some had done really wrong.

"But I was part of an apparatus that did do many crimes."

Q: Would internes for centres of release? A: maybe;

Q: Would you join the centres? No

Why not?

- Because I have a family, responsibilities.

And second, the centres have no future.

... Even if they won. They are poor people, who are manipulated now; they would be poor and manipulated even if they won."

Q: What did you think about VN?

- We saw pictures, of terrible things that were being done: burning houses, bombing, killing children.

Q: What did that make you think about working with Amnies.

A: I didn't think about it. I was a paperboy, busy doing my work.

Q Did you expect US to come in on your side?

A. No, never.

Q. But Reagan would have, or Nixon.

A. (looks thoughtful...) You know more about that than I do.

Q: What will happen in El Salvador?

A: It will go on for a long time.

But the US cannot win; as in VN, the Americans are a different race (race)

[Note, at lunch: The Vietnamese Army are experts to fight with sticks in a war. If you're proud of the American boots, injuries; they are proud to prove the Godfather behind them - they feel they can't lose; the US can't let them lose...]

(cf. VN, 1972, retreat from Hue - discarding boots).

Big ass, belly, big face, with wild looking eyes - that could look very tough. (May Hartman: he was in a section "inflated - tortured.") ≈ Cleo, Valeriano - y counterparts. (He had

Wartan, he said, of prison: "I learned to speak to say what I thought...

He shows his good paintings, in beautiful
Pic. painter's style. Learned the guitar;
good voice.

What would he do with Brooks if he were
boss in charge?

A: "Hand question."

Born 1940 in Dayton, Ohio; 7th child,
1st to be born in US — others born in Bogota, ^{Colombia}
Ireland. Mother IRA supporter from Ireland. Father
worker from Galicia, b. 1898; came to US from Cuba
("just after Spanish American War, Spanish for
Spain was not popular.) His brother fought for Republic
Spain, 2 in prison under Franco — now could get
passports. Neither Marxist. Father worked for ^(mainly) National Cash Reg.
Trial to emigrate; NCR won suit.
Spent time in Theater, friends & Julian Beck
(Nobie?) when 18; "first realChristies I ever
met — they finish." (Anarchist pamphlet.)

Watched anti-subway day CD drill in NY
in 1959; the came up, saw GIs marching
down street, with balloons; saw the body
beaten by police.

Minia Rojo Laguna

Inst. of Social Security and Well-being (Welfan)

"Franklin's first mate was for no/relationships left to lose."

see

NYRB's request to me for end-of-year
piece ^{'75}— and issue of baby.
(after '74 flap)

NCR piece — threatening friendship with EPT
(and son, Thyma...)

wife role — wrt D

- -Wf El Sal was "on for a long time" ?
To far. Marshall NYT:
- Why so new justified in CA? (e.g. Afghan?)
 - Wf not Nic ans to El Sal rebels?

(see easiest of values
in Cambodian:)

- ["If this is all it took (threats, promises, threats, threats) to get US to withdraw in CA — it doesn't take much."]

[Carter was a aberration, that permitted
FSLN to win — window of opportunity. But
window shut just after El Sal revolt
expanded (?)

Barrisca

14 Dec

- Open Door policy.
- threat/intimidation - maneuvers...

My talk at Embassy: 13 Dec

"A good place to meet Americans: Colombo...

"20 years ago, on election day, hardly plus

"This year - MIG scare (= T6 hoax; testing + receiving long approval

[Will that be the "final" beginning of a dec. of war"??

("provocation" plans:

Sept 1984.

+ long silence; approval

Christmas bombing 1972

of killing MIGs]

(Brinks, Ben Haa, Oliker, Quen Nham)

(To Ramon: I was not informed by the political judgement wrt US of the DSV... Either the pt invasion/bombing was

(- Prior FSLN forbearance, restraint...

refusal to be provoked...

- Resort to law; West Europe opinion; elections

- I have worked in a way which is ~~cont~~ ^{cont} that looks like
this one (began it was belief of US' desolation, R-52's)
- I know what kind of plans are being made in there. *

- As a father, I am proud that my daughter is ⁱⁿ one
of the best public health programs in the world.
But as a American, I am
to know of too many lots of daughter at work
and the children she is caring for.

- The Americans have made it possible for
me to be hopeful + proud to be a American

* They are as well-intentioned as we are - but
as, if want to be good American. But this
idea of being a good American is the ~~same~~

Want to do good if

MCE

6 Nov 29, 1958

Honduras - Amigos, 1976 summer (first
graduated from H.S. (Westlake))
(after 2d year of 4 year)

Panama - Aug. 1978 - Sept. for 1979

(Ministry of Health, volunteer)

Mexico - December 1979 - Jan '80

June '80 -

David Ortega, PM Manager, Farnsworth
Cardinal

1. Why no titles to lots?

A: Lack of technicians to survey, not legal requirements; small number of lots drained off to other projects, like new sugar mill. I understand your concern - we'll give provisional drawings to地质家 sometime. This is one of the most difficult areas: hills, swamps. Next year, it will take 8-9 months to survey. But you wait for your land.

- 200 public pay-phones in country; card costs

\$1000 Q: no phones; we had a fair, but no phone. Why not one public pay phone.

(Ortega points, gestures: Mr. says, "We'll make a commitment to make this

Q: We paid deposits for lights; in 12 days; only

4 parts put up. Want lights for Christmas.

A: ^{Mr. & others} No materials (imported) ... I'll be frank - we won't have it on 24th, or by 31st ...

Q: angry, repeats: "We know the problems. But it was you promised the electricity in 12 days. You shouldn't raise false hopes. When we didn't get the lights, they said we didn't paid an

obligation. That's not true. I know it's only
200 cordobas. That's not much, but we met our
obligation. We didn't put our foot in our mouth,
like you did."

I accept your criticism. We'll do our best

(weak;
sounding,

—
-Q:

Q: Trying for 3 years to get water ... from 4-7 AM (not
12 AM-5).

Mr. Water: World Bank no longer financing — it will
be a few years

The whole southern part of Managua is
suffering from this problem; you are taken up.

... on Sunday we'll have a new pump, which
will help ... (Ortega asks, "Why not from 4 to 7?

A: 4-7 is when everyone wants it — we're consuming
too much; 46 million gallons/24 (last month, 40 mil.),
we're wasting water. Last year campaign against waste in

Q: We want to know if your brothers and
friends in France will donate a pup to us.

2d: What is your position on Monguillo's?

3d: On draft — why don't registrars, or why
get called, they don't go.

Mannay:

I will speak to the French Gov,
explaining the situation here....

If all the industrial countries could help out
the poor countries....

If we can help Africa, why can't we
help out C.A.? That's why I'm here.

....unwilling

Ontogen — all bodies of the middle of 1985 —
that's a fine comment.

On electric, mostly was planned, and
not defined. That's wrong. The minister has counted
himself & others within 2 months. [He had said

"Sorcery."

On water - that a serious problem, not only
in the Mexico City ... Europe ... Mariana has
a large pop. now, and keeps growing. It shouldn't
keep growing. ... can do to keep most of country unaffected
... we'll have to save water; if people
don't do it voluntarily, we'll have to do it by
force - cutting off neighborhoods that are too
much.

- We have to take P.M. off. This dialog has been
too short

- On Mariana - We & US have a continue
not to discuss details 9th meeting.

(on Bob McCartney - Wall Post
Terry Jenkins Guardian (UK))

Mark Cook: TBN 96462 (Andy Butler)

Cong. to be by Bitemont: Can't expect your
program to be enacted US as a condition
for elections.

1

✓

✓

Dead in Pearl Lagoon -

Mabel Fox - volunteer - gave adult education classes to women, Health volunteer; manager of 'Peoples Store'
@ 30 yrs.

Concha Adolfo Mediano - ~~boat captain~~ - leader of childrens organization; militia member -

Son Nelson - killed 12
3 children wounded - 1 fatality
son, 6, mother with legs; girl 13 wounded, 7 son
girl ~8 "

Peter Martinez - shopkeeper, militia member, active in episcopal church - he & wife Dorothy on death list of Contra for 3 years for participation in Revolution

5 more wounded -

Total - 4 dead (2 civil-2 military)
8 wounded (4 children & 4 adults milit.)

Paul Layson attack Sunday, 7 Dec 84
(next to Condo) , Death Mountain

Came from 3 direction at 11:30

(2 hrs after Brooklyn River rapids finished,
in Columbia, at 9:30).

100-150 men.

Came to Condo's house and started shooting - told C to throw out his gun. He fired back (AK-47); was wounded early. Jy and F44, M-60, M-79. Mother screamed out that there were children inside, to have mercy, not to kill the all. Condo told him to take the children & leave; she refused, said, "We'll all die together." C. and 20-year-old neighbor - helping to load - in one room, rest in bedroom.

Condo came up to window of bedroom, dropped in a concussion grenade -

Mother was blown though the floor; No food in the morning; C. had died shortly before, his foot blown off. He had

the night giving instruction to the children
who were still alive in the next room.

12-year-old son had been killed, legs blown
off. (Mother "paralyzed" by shock wave; hole
in floor made by her body. The children had
spent the night with the walls covered
with meat from the bodies of mother and
boy, father dying in the other room — telling them
how to behave as he died).

The 7-year-old goes off and talks to
himself; he is talking to his father.
(He, baby, and 20-year-old not hurt physically)

The brother (~20) of the father (~30)
was with the contras; from the same village.
Creoles. This mother is believed to have
known attack was coming; she may have
thought that contras would only take the
militia guns. Now mother says she will never
forgive young son, for big involved.
(He was in a different part of the attack, not
in attack on home).

Yongor was involved with corries "for adventure — all for coffee." In a nearby Misito village, 26 100-lb sacks of grass were found dead. The man in the attached corries + acted as if big.

The brother's voice was recognized. He was one of 2 from Rorul Dogoon — who pointed out houses of relatives.

Several were from Roritipura (Misito village where they taught a literacy Crusade — 20 in of course). One from R. was killed and left behind — shot 13 — were wearing new FDN caps. His family refused to admit he had been killed; say he is in mountains (though others recognized him).

Several others from Hanlower, the neighboring village on the Lagoon.

One person in Roritipura said there were 2 gringos with the group; also some from FDN, shouting FDN slogans (first time they had appeared with River's Minasota group). PASBA PAUNY — seen from

in the South.

Doreth's husband, dead shooting; pt on his militia uniform, got his gun. But his wife and child in back to be safe. He went out in front, but promised he wouldn't go attack first. But "he died go out, very guilty; & had to open the gate. He sent his wife, also a militia, back to guard the family.

... every, guilty: "I will always feel that he ran away from us." "Every shot & dead, & they all, 'They killed Peter!'"

He thought shooting was for banditti. He met a boy, who told him town was overrun. He thought band shooting in vicinity of houses — he thought it fancy had been shot. He turned back toward home, ran into country close to houses. He was shot, wounded, they finished him off — the morning (~5:30 AM) was by left. They took his uniform, boats, gun, & killed him. "He lay there, wounded, believing we had all been killed; he died thinking that."

Faig and her mother lost for 3 years
(Creoles); Doreth had been Sec. engin. of mayors.
Her son (I met) was Tony's supervisor in
the dist. Crusade; head of Sec. youth. Pedro.

In living room: plaster angelic faces by door;
little china figures; fuzzy blue bunny, best supper
(etc figures at carnival).

^{written}
Alfred Dennis' down; ~~the house~~ M-79
find 8 females in house; he lost 3 toes.

(Wona is his next to house; his aunt,
being next door. His sister married.)

Carmelita Ponder, member of zonal committee
of FSLN.

Maria Flores Acevedo, with AK-47 in
our boat; in CDS; in Bluefields' region.

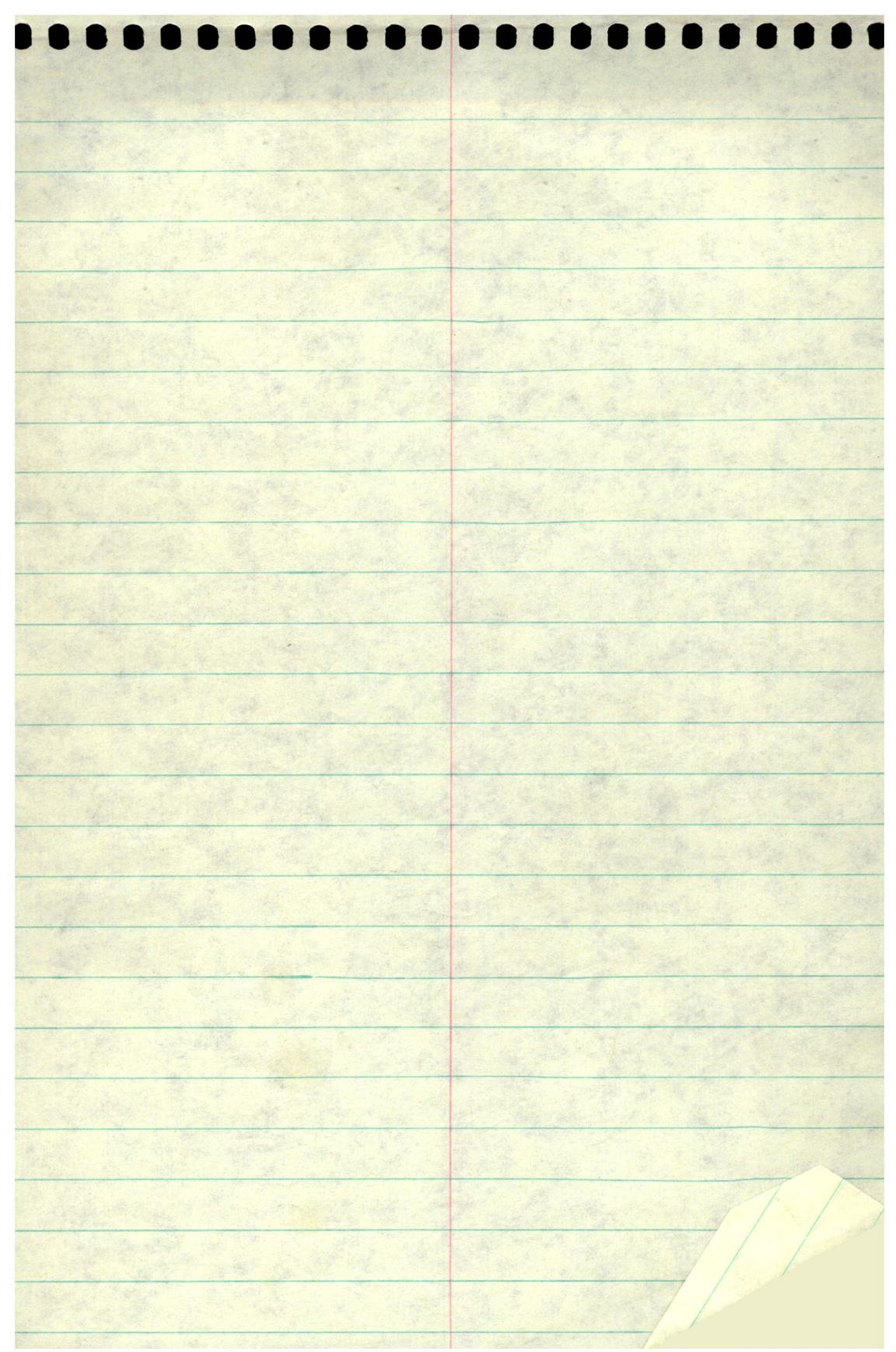
(ambition is our best; with opportunity, of
bad worms. Pain - can't stand. Cold &
covered with my towels.

Julie's "abandon of the bath room"
(bath room just the size of his bed; office,
size of closet.)

Speculation that attack was planned by
FDN to disrupt negotiations with Rivera. Everyone
"We didn't expect any attack, during the
dialog."

(or - Rivera, ~~also~~ ~~but~~ ~~by~~ "press" or
negot?)

I point up: mutilated doll; mutilated Master
figure; shoe; school-book, with names (wrong),
math, with drawing of prisoners, like in Frank's
photos. Moravian prayer & hymn book; round
Ostrik, film/goods any. All in English.



Friends are going off - the part -
which captures the resemblance to begin.
(It seems to me to be best in a typical
country, observing (and even occasionally
"advising") operations against guerrillas - even -
with the positions of retinal roles reversed.

[Later] Except what is not unusual. The
US is among the "alongers" again - they are
called us ("savages") in VN - to the
distress (or perhaps not - the FSCN is
negotiating. Their ability to be far, and
fugitive, their adversary may be wiser. And
it is the US, again, that will have - if the
plan can be fulfilled.

It has taken me 17 years to learn to
say "the", "the plan" about the US Gov.

2200
It is late because I was asked to
tell the group about my visit to the Atlantic
Coast.

I told the alert you at-noon
capiro. And about Blufire.
And the Africa subs. All this
bifly, because I told the world to
tell the alert Pearl Harbor.

✓

...
I started crying, of course, and told them
about the boy who looks to be father,
and we I took the robes out of the sack.
I put them on the cement patio inside the
circle of an chair, in a patch of light
from the door: the tan plastic bottle,
the shoe, the book and hymn, the hammer,
the doll.

Nobody said anything after I stopped
crying and talking. After a while I said,
"This time the place to ^{us} ~~hold~~ ^{grind} the tennis
and the body. If the body starts again
if we don't prevent it - it won't be just
a few hand downs that look like
this one."

I looked at the dead - stag-headed
immediately exploded, eyes open and half
closed, face blanched - and vanished
somewhat. It was not for a bombing
raid, actually. It was a hand ± 50 to
50 yards from a bridge south of Sagon.
It had been occupied by a VC platoon for a
while the night before; the VC had started
shells at the Royal - and Regional Forces
battalion that was garrisoned near the
bridge approach, 50 yards away. The RFFs
were, as usual, too scared to move it
into the hills. They just fired into it
all night with the M60s [M-60s], and
the trees burst down all the houses, which
were made of thatch and palm leaves and
bamboo.

I ran on the banks the next morning
while Langley was still smoking. It was
the sort of thing that justified digging the

roads; you couldn't get the fuel from a
refugee, or from the air, just how close the
houses were to the RTA ~~Abbay~~ Lm. that
had chosen to fire on the villages rather
than stand at a station. The point of the
refugee I made was the cowardice ("bad
leadership, low motivation") of the RTA we
paid out and, all the menmen for
the people of we respondly protecting.
But what I always recalled of that
morning was the inconsolable, ruined look,
and the posture, of the mother, facing things
the circles and ash, still smoking, salvaging
shards of pottery at a few paces. What
I sensed was a little boy with
a black expression on his face, sitting at
the ashes a six square, and a broken
doll.

I said, looking at the doll in front of
us, "I've seen dolls like this before. In VN.
"And if we don't stop on you, every
doll in Meagan will look like that."

I was enjoy and slacking, so I
went to my room. after a walk to
both of the grape and bought the things
to my room.

I suspect the notebook was the little
girl's who is in the hospital. I wish we
could visit her and get to know her.
Could you? Her drawing of the princess
— or the girl is a ball gown — was
especially nice. Raul said, "My
girl drew pictures especially her that."
Alberto said, "So does mine."

The first sentence of her composition is —

It occurs to me I want to do things
for her. First of all, there is nothing so
precious & can leave in so precious as
your attention. I know ... but you know.

I will send her book back if she wants it.

I am very concerned about the little boy.

Maybe some of this money can help the two families. I will send more, for you.

I am very proud of you.

When people say, "You must be very proud of your daughter," I say, "It is more like feeling I am proud to know her."

My last comment at the airport may have seemed very odd; it was my clumsy way of saying,

I have found you lovely.

You are gorgeous, and you always have been.

I won't apologize for sighing at the

quality - you all with an obvious
and I probably more the more. But if
the little girl - Pearl Kagoor can draw
of a princess, so can I -

* left w/ promise — already.

You used to complain that * didn't —
"Never!" Not true — but * the you were

Margarita Clark ASTC 96511/62716
a. 74867

A. S. T. C.

Casa "Fernando Gordillo"
Parque el Carmen
Managua, Nicaragua

Health Bars

Americas Watch report on Misfits
critique of Pieterson

~~NO~~

TQ - check whether money is local

sent \$1333

about Dec. ~ 21 or 22

Intuition

15 March 85

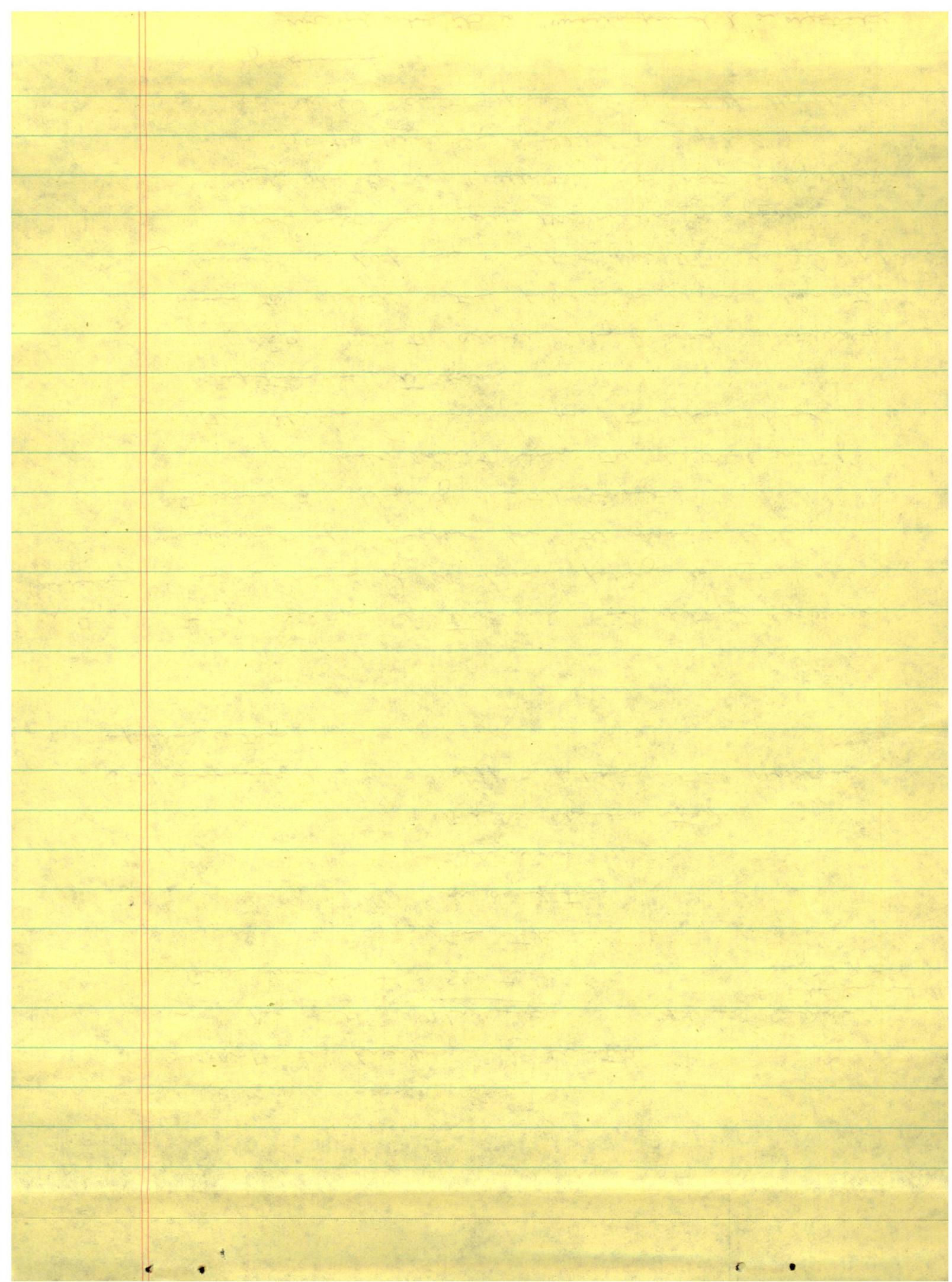
Phils, Nic

1. When we can displace a tyrannical tyrannical,
tyrannical dictatorship of cutting off an aid to it —
that is an "intervention" we should undertake.

(Nanti; Phis: ainst, Chile, South Korea, Paraguay,
... (South Africa))

The rule : no direct support of, or use of, terrorism and torture. (That cuts out contas, and Sonaya...)

2. If US (Carter) had backed the liberal opposition to Sonuga — as Reagan finally did in Phils — the Sandinistas would not be in power: and with all the disadvantages of that, for the poor, the US would not be at war with Nicaragua.
3. Sandos are a war regime; this worst error, a bad one, is closely equivalent to the US treatment of the Japanese on the West Coast in 1942 ...
[
4. This lack of direct support to FMLN is a measure of the present desire to avoid US invasion ...



To Do:

- ✓ - Call ~~July~~, Aspis see
- ✓ - ~~Events~~: today — (time in events)
 - money, trav. choices
- ✓ - Call Rose, Carol
- Call Juraski
- Write: targets on Mi
- Call: ~~Green~~ ~~Ents~~ Committee: Bastion
- Call: Hilda; Wolfgang
- Call: Sandy
- ✓ - Call: Ploughshares
- Call: for K, on back
- Peace Test / effect

Thursday 13 March

Reel: Clips on Mi

NPRB - Leith

Clonley

- When was K and T reform, on historical mission?
1984? (Vale, Frans, Clunie?)

McMillan: Macmillan Report (Press Conf, 10:30 Monday: attached)
Same Work Party
Buckanan column.

Copies: Hanbards, XRL (Pete?) see Pete?

775-2244 Ploughshares

Nic 13 March 86

- Shorin: 2) R gave up early on winning vote in House -
is winning now to ⁽²⁾ score Ds who vote against
in its switching later - is fair? - to a
bill that will give him what he wants*,
"as this initiative" (McMillan).

They, he is not trying to switch votes
He is lucky to "lose" votes
so long as he can tax those who oppose him
(Dem + Repub) as "pro-Comm, anti-Reagan."
So the day after the vote, they will be thinking
"We're won!" but "How do we get out of ^{the} trouble
we're in?"

(b) Mayhew: as counters go down, switch,
he can blame it chiefly on his opponents.

(c) Aspin's report of Pres (after vote for
27M last year, Vain vote in committee now, but
24 - 6 for bill) is consistent with this -

Aspin has said publicly since for 83:
"Doesn't want us seen as anti-defense, pro-Comm,
anti-Reagan."

(d) Hyp: Real point is to get CIA officially/legally
back in the act

1) Watch out if they can't start spending immediately,
even if ^{70M} is tied up for 6 mos (3 mos?) of "negot." -

(Leider: Marxist? anti-Russian? Oil-fund who left him?)

2) Reuter: non CIA ops like the mining of
Cuban (done with Navy SEALS? McMillen — and non-Navy)
and at Cuban ships + planes — and to
provide greater Cuban incentive, so —
as excuse for US intervention, after all.

(34A ops — South Gulf.) But or militate other — US in Hawaii
(R's of choice — to rationalize US intervention,
"as in Philippines, Haiti, South Africa, Chile (Korea?)
or Grenada."

3) Their ops against Libya — the 100M is for
that, not for Cubans to operate it, but CIA mines;
Assad Coupons won't provide funds, and since CIA
involved; ethnic, tech would need CIA role,
which would be against the law.

4) McMillen: stay that unjustified, 32-year act has
been removed from DOD and replaced by young
Reagan / Bushman tiger.

— Dems will not switch votes on 100M — now by big
called "Cubs" — they will look for "other" bill
to show they're not!

"This is the pig that got us its VN — "to avoid
losing it to Cubs" — they hasn't changed that much!"

- Controversy over "moral legitimacy of French action."
So R saying George Washington was a terrorist?
Organized + paid by the French?

True, George did "shoot his way into power."
George Washington was more allowed his rep in America to be
chosen by election than George US or George did.
+ George did have foreign aid
- like Saudis (mostly in region!)
- like Afghan rebels, solidarity
that
but they were organized, well funded, and, of a
foreign organization; commanded by leaders friendly
of a former rival agency, former names of
a former hated dictatorial police force...

- The worst things the French did was to breed a
popular animosity against the very things the US is
now supporting, ^{trying to} hunting back & trying to reinstate!
(The greatest mistake of US - or is the French and
under the command of Somalis, not of the former
"fascists" who opposed Somalia.)

- The US role in Nic is very different from the US role in Afghan; the situation the US faces in Nic is very different from the situation it faces in Afghan
(The Saudi regime is totally different in origin, policy,
ideology, from the Khalid regime in Afghan; Arab-SC
role is totally different from SC role in Afghan.)

But we are already toward the low role in Afghan!
as we did in VN. (We are both staying
on this in El Sal of)

- Searched to "connect" Paris - the agrees with R's definition
of the situation, my grumbles over timing of meas, use
of "urgots."

"NO WIN" / "Desperate Proposal Path" / Report
Kohren + Jost

RW Apple, NYT Mar 12, 1980

Senior WH official: "The actual interest again (?) the Sandinistas to put political pressure (?) if we send aid to the rebels, if may* be able to bring enough pressure on the Sandinistas to achieve that. There is some hope. There is no hope if we don't."

(OPP: Any path can't succeed: not fail. Alternatives can succeed. It is chosen with no consideration of its prob of success, or the costs & prob of failing, versus a more failure (after and execution) than any any path. "As if" "maximax" (or rather pick the one approach that has a chance of success: if not, the best choice ...).

But see K + T: Who actions are negative, gather shows "risk behavior" — finds a risky game with some chance of winning failure (choosing "0" or better) against a certain of failure.

...
Hyp: Under their condition, choose any also be
Show "anti-risk" behavior: an ambiguous game that may
be "certain" to succeed or have a big prob. of succeeding
(may have some chance) over one that has a high prob of
failing (and / or no chance of "succeeding", with a big prob of
an even & better a bad outcome of the better)

DPP

VN 1964-65

DPP:

and certain prospects of domestic pol. costs

When the curr. policy offers no hope of a win,
D'o-Wash can choose a "non-NO-WIN" strategy

* Chose stalemate, without much domestic political attention,
may not be counted as "failure/aggression" but as
"guo, status quo, even mild success."

VN, 1954-64.

When costly stalemate, as in 1965, 1969, was
distinctly negative.

When an Adm appears to be accepting a costly
stalemate, (SV 1964) (VN 1969-72) (NIE 1985-86: 100M purpose
or should suspect that there is a curr.
risk to the strategy that does some "reasonable"
choice of means —

— even though it may involve a high chance
of greater or even costly failure, or be highly
illegal, brutal, immoral.

Adm, when Adm seems to have "accepted"
a stay political setback: Bay of Pigs 1961; Chile situation
1970. (and campaign bombing).

A policy that is doomed to fail in the short-run
— or even, doomed not-to-succeed in the short-run
(a long-run policy!), if it is subject to criticism or to class of
mild policies that survival is possible: esp. if curr. pol.
is costly and/or has high public attention — is disadvantageous expand

now obliges policy, which offers some else
of promise of l-r success, or better, s-r success,
even if it is claimed to be "doomed to failure in the
long run." (Ball on Escalation, 1961, 1964-65:
This claim is needing obliges, covering the long-
run; as well as portends the failure, rejecting it
to the short-run).

Also, when s-r failure may be likely (i.e. as case),
you is to be the blame: e.g. on those who would
not "try" to save it.

(see Tom Cannon, on Webb + Chayes letter; —)

Footnote:

When American tactics seem doomed to fail a s-r (and
l-r), whether in Congress (now, a Centrist aid, Mar 86)
or in the field (VN, Nic),
or as a "counterproductive"
(- "long run" in Congress for 100M;
— making Nic more attentive,
dependent on SC & Cuba")

the suspect — contrary to minister + assistant minister —
that the American does know what everyone else knows;
and that its ways — tactics + l-r — may be different
from what it says, + public thinks;

and/or its tactics are different; have "count"
about (see, e.g. 1964; or West on invasion, 1968; or N, 1969-72;
or VN 1973 after Accords, or Nic, US intervention, provocation)

Middle + Chgs want CIA mission
(Lyon papers want).

- "so amount of aid can be hidden."
- [so non-Mie assist and direct US role is possible, in proactive activities.]
[Back to 1983? plan?]

- Question what Adm "wants"
 - to increase pressure under Sards
(u. the existing bands)
 - to decrease Sards' reliance on Adm or bands
 - to divert US attention (e.g. in air,
after provocation)
 - to get Sards to negot

Co. i as talks: to reduce weapons,
support mss + determine ...

On axis: When Adm appears to accept a "Statement"
(as in Agolai: "Our aim is to prevent Maoist Rev
from imposing a military victory — rather negot"
(as in Me: "We know entries can't win...")

- Adm may now be buying time, stalling off defeat
(esp. if "cheap": Agolai?)

But this is not the l-r strategy, esp. if costly (high attention;
e.g. in VN — statement in SVD was on accountability).
as necessary, and sufficient if (th) accomplish
of being pressure on NVV.

In NVV: continues but not dissolve, nor break be achieved, till
"it" + "in" moreover.

13 March 86

McMullen: R doesn't want a military vote on "compromise / escrow / negot" after losing an 100M; He wants more time to "build bridges," encourage Dms to come with "the our plan" — he will get a better one later.

[Am bout you, April to June!]

[Also, he will leave Dms with "no plan," "no transition aid for countries after March 31!" So the heat will be on them — the fear of country collapse, with no aid! "Dms' fault." Final result — a better bill, for R, than he could get now.

Note: Some now is not what US is trying, or should have to, to achieve goals, a goal in US troops:

VN:

but R wants Dms to agree that

"Goals deserve to be achieved," ("of countries, of ~~poor~~ people)

"This is a days to
region, not to US"

- "US ~~is~~ has the to be achieved,

"if they will change voluntarily"

(e.g. by negot with countries,
or new abstentions)

- US has the right to achieve the ...

→ = US troops (or air) are justified and legitimate, if needed.

(esp. if action of other countries ... can be predicted)

On negots: R didn't want another Congress vote to open up funds, after 6 months (Sasse plan).

- Assume that, at least.
- Keep out C/A, meanwhile.

Hyp: US should attack the above points:

- US needs to overthrow Smeds. (e.g. to avoid W bases)
- US has a right " " "
- US can " " ", with US troops.
- US has a right to war terrorists.
- US troops would be justified, not be "aggressive," could bring peace & justice & democracy to Central America.

(If Aspin votes for 100M, he will not be acting differently from those voted for Tonkin Gulf Res — with a lot more warning. Also true of those who vote for delayed aid (esp. if C/A "final" now).

host to R

Our past relations with Marcos & Duvalier show the
amount of steady, consistent "cover" for "democracy"
in the Third World!

(This means pressure on Chile & South Africa,
consistently "quiet" for R, after 5 years!)

This month has seen 2 different ways of
"advancing democracy" in the TW:

1) By shifting, threatening or abandoning any
full support for dictatorship.

(Quick shift: Nation.

Another threat of popular shift comes
left & Coms.)

2) By US aid to guerrilla forces breaking
against regimes (trading with US, break from liberal
the processes or may in the area) USG regards
as sufficiently pro-US, "democratic" or cap.
(or too close to SC/ Cuba).

Angola: a problem: alliance with South Africa
(a aggressor in area!)

Nic: alliance with Somocistas, one of three.
(Cambodia: alliance with Pol Pot!)

Afghan: justified ^{European} dictatorship like SC and to Nic!

apply (1) to South Korea, Chile, South Africa, (Paraguay?)

NYT, March 7, 1986: Burkhimer: "I can't think of a major issue," he said, "in
which the Pres is more deeply committed than his desire to bring democracy to
Central America."

On "Co-ops"

Don't give the Soviets so much credit, for "manipulating opinion." Some aggression & males of the public know how to react, but they've been brainwashed how to react critically, when it comes to Soviet propaganda, this is ours.

If you read ^{3 years} ~~now~~ of the PP, you can see newspapers during VN; & don't even see, for over, to have been watching TV during those years!

Are M-1000s the counter a substitute for US troops, or a precursor, a magnet? (like 34A and air ops in VN, + TL8s...)

(like: are MX + PII a "deterrant" or a "lightning rod")

If failure to end the conflict could lead to / require / justify the sending of US troops (Wentzinger, to House Armed Services Com Men 5; SF Chair Men 5)

|| the failure of the conflict, after US end, would do the same - even more surely!

Reagan, recently, to furnish org: "the US is at stake ... 'We send now and wait now so we will never (Ha!) have to send our American boys.' [This is not LBJ's message in 1964! JFK, etc?]

"If we don't want to see the map of Central America covered in a sea of red, entirely, sitting at our borders, we must act now."

DPP

SFChen Feb 28, 1986

Shultz said failure to provide the aid
"means the situation will fall apart in a hurry."
He added: "I know which side I'm on. I know who
the good and the bad guys are here."

[But, the aid doesn't mind ^{bottom} and failure — as
I my dear upshot is "Pygmalion Myth": It "provides a
hope..."] — Alternative — and — is sure of quick collapse,
[30M will prompt collapse;
the 70M for inf. provides "hope."]

But Devil Evers asks: "We have upheld
the anti." [Channeled US make costs — to be justified,
"more good" — like "dead must not have died in vain"
(as. "let the dead by the dead...
by gone be bygones...")

"If the result of this agent is... a popular
revolution (i.e. Revolution) and ^{the devil gets do} ~~it doesn't just make~~
it [as in Phils, after election!],
what then do we do?"

[in Chile, c. 1972-73, or in Phils 1986, we then
called on Any conf.]

But — me — US Troops.

File 21, NYT: Need for US advisors — and aircraft/helicopters
COMMIEBUST!

Steve Noe Miller: Panama Kunkle's off

225-2265

L 763-527-6953

Bruce Cole 658-7435

nk 549-1387

Vincent: Tricky in

Jeff Masson: 655-0580 1F stone?

for Erikson - Datam

Half 21 Feb. In Angola + Rie, Adm is
"lays the basis for negotiated settlement."

(i.e. refusing to talk, while fight
is "negotiating.")

Next stage (infinito): "talking while fight."

As in Korea; ^{Learned} "Must keep the mil. pressure on, ^{and} up,
while negotiating."

Thus, escalation as precursor to negots. (PDS)

Mangold, Nanai border, ^{Dec} 1965?

Being shown 19th parallel, 1968.

HAK "negots," 1969-72.

HAK: "How agot without a tank of rice?" ^{Dec.} 1968.

- \$250 million yearly for last several years to Afghan rebels.

(to negot?!) (to war?)

\$5M to Cambodian forces

27M to Rie forces - 100M

15M to Angola

Does ally, threatening, terrorise, lead to
"compromising, negots"? or to coexisting-process

(and counter-support of others)

See Michael Barnes, SF Chancery

[R claims to see TW conflict - US-SC this
is an excuse to side with the US-dominated military
and land-owning, rich elites, against the poor majority
(against popular movements + orgs, new, democracy.)]

"R are claim to oppose, not new (or democracy), or
union, or land reform) but "aggression - of US +
Cubas + Nic." For the administration
for R, "There is no TW: "there are true worlds: one + free."
the free world and the Com world."

For "anti-Com" and anti-new/left/nationalist (other
that threatens to any degree sixty
US non interests/privileges/power,
(dependency is Central American)

(for Great Power, sphere of influence, and "empire")

SF Examiner, March 11

Baum + Berman: 100M legis. would set loose
more than 100M from DOO budget; it would allow
free use of CIA's contingency funds, "several times
larger" - all this in CIA/DOO activities!

They, black chick: Take Half Res

(then asking for expenses for 344 aps!)]
vs. UVN - to provoke response
vs. US forces, or US allies!

Mar 11, NYT

US has "moral obligation" to help countries, having helped the earlier.

[What about after the 100 M + ?!]

Quoting Jackson, "In ^{other} national security, the best politics is no politics".

Reputation concerns.

Pax affirms "far left ideology, that our will and power are" (!)

... "whether migration of liberals ... that justified some dictators has fundamentally become to call the thumb over, Con, Repub ..."

(Tun: like R/C/Warriors!)

"The end of the post-VN syndrome, the return of realism shut the Con down."

This oil is the last out

[No - US troops in the will be!]

Counties = Hungarian freedom-fights, us. fruitless tasks
(when we didn't help...)

[Rev. is justified in intervene - (Anger, so...)]

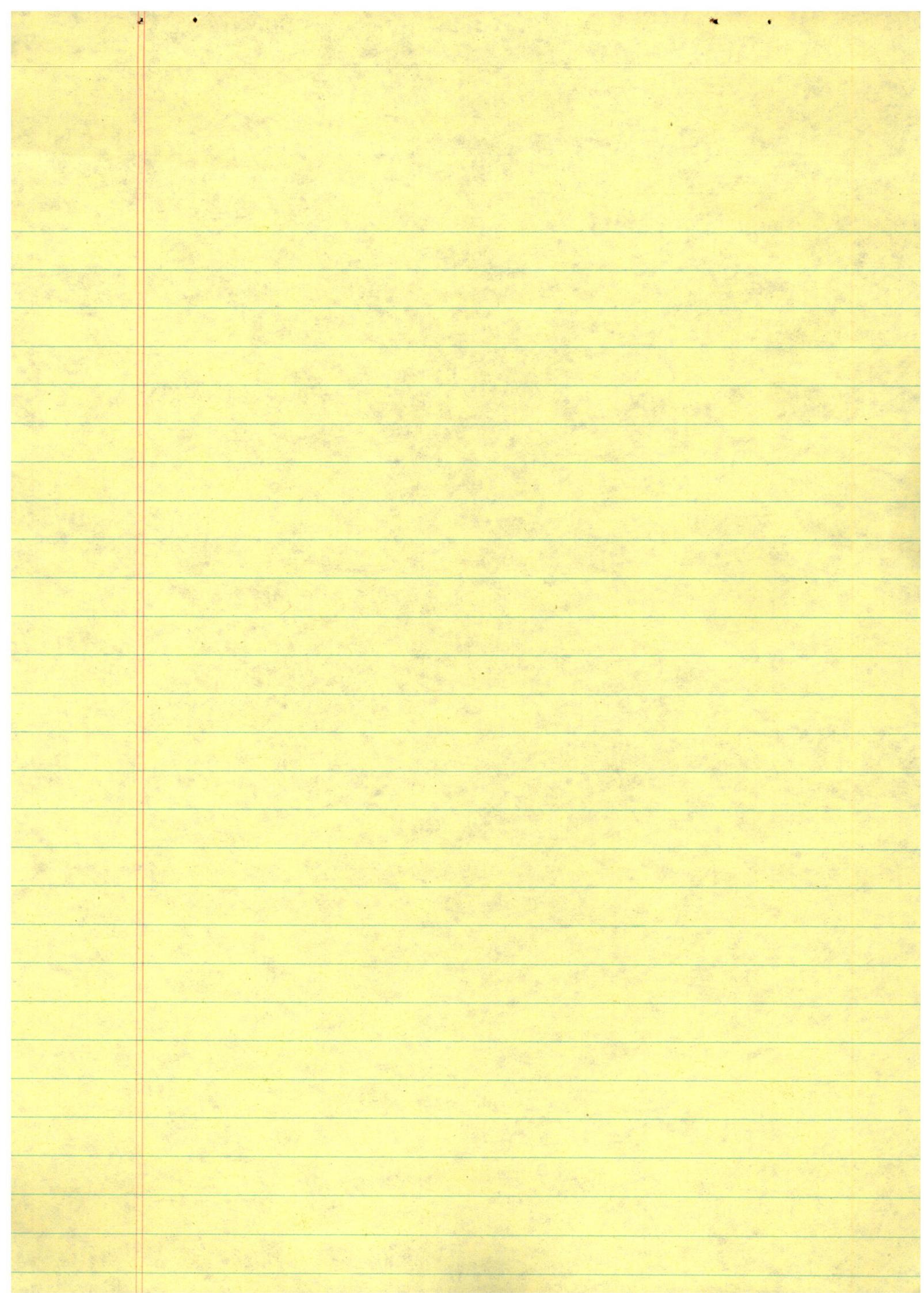
As in George's War, Carter Annies (Elbit, Gorbachev, Monroe's Phil...)

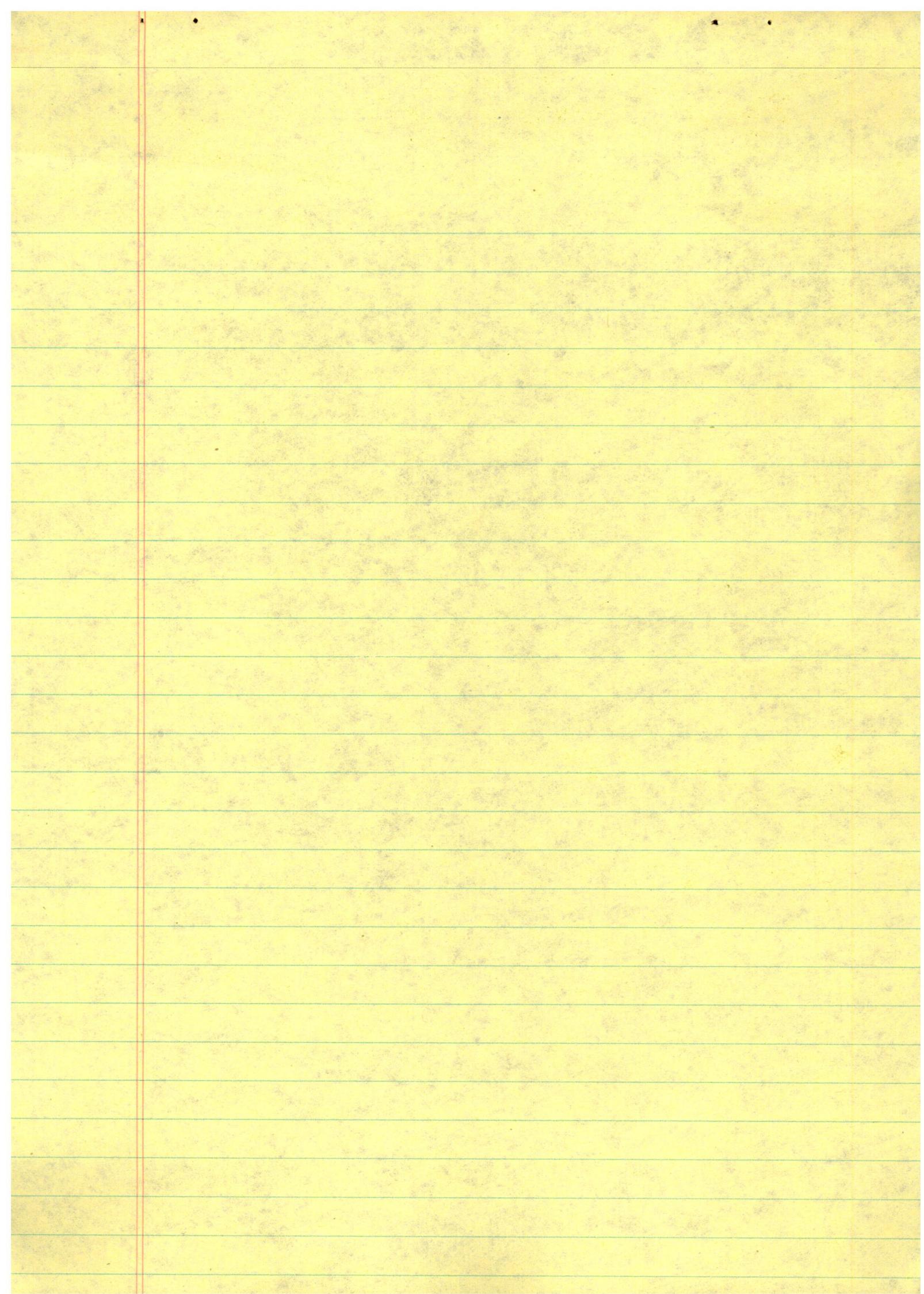
As in VN, we are backing (ipso facto?) foreign-
subversive-and-controlist clients who (" ") lack
popular support — which our opponents have
(whether or not they have majority support — though
they have majority support, as nationalists, of virtue
of the resistance to us!)

Thus, we are trying, and failing, to create
a "civil war" — which they claim it is
(if not, "aggression, of Cons");
whereas it is simply imperial aggression, by
us — is a country which would not be
experiencing a war, except for us.

(Unlike Afghan — or even Cambodia...) (or Angola

(China, Pol Pot) South Africa,
Somalia)





B
B
B
B

No oil at all

$\frac{1}{3}$ - $\frac{1}{2}$ non-lethal

15M "

440 ~~coast~~

mercado
Segundo Klovens 712 G lt. 85 20003
Coalition for a New 202-546-8400
For-Hil Policy

House

McCandy (Aspin wins McCandy
33 votes
for Chalmers)

(with side has 218)

Jones Slattery D-Kansas

Jim Wright - Tex

Albert Bustamante Tex 225-4511 1116 Longworth

Biaggi

Senate

(45 for us)



10:30 -

Hall

basic objectives, we agree. If we could find a method of getting rid of a state such as Cuba, we wouldn't hesitate to take it."

(e.g. no. issues, right, "morality")
Are priorities UN-MUTUAL the same? Passions

Johnstone was right to insist that the differences between the pragmatists and the ideologues do not have to do with their fundamental attitude toward Soviet communism or their view that U.S. national security requires expanded U.S. power, especially the military power to enable the U.S. to undermine the Soviet Union and its "surrogates." Nevertheless, the differences between the two groups have major implications for U.S. policy. A willingness to negotiate with an opponent suggests some recognition of that state's right to continued existence; a policy of refusal to negotiate suggests a denial of a state's legitimacy. (But see: "negotiate with honor...")

The Debate Over Negotiations: Central America

In Central America, U.S. willingness, or refusal, to negotiate can make the difference between who stays in power and who does not, even who stays alive and who does not. The pragmatists, Johnstone told me, believe that it might be possible to work out a "time limited modus vivendi" in Nicaragua, a political solution [framed by a readiness to move back to military confrontation "if necessary"] based on unification of the Contras and the Nicaraguan internal opposition, an agreement that they would become part of the political process, along with agreements that the Sandinistas not accept Soviet military aid or provide military aid to other insurgents in the region.

Open Door

(to US mil. collec)